

1-28-1963

Boran, Bon. Walt - The Story of Chief Joseph (pt 5)

O.O. Howard Collection

Follow this and additional works at: http://dh.howard.edu/ooh_wbo

Recommended Citation

Collection, O.O. Howard, "Boran, Bon. Walt - The Story of Chief Joseph (pt 5)" (1963). *Writings By Others*. Book 5.
http://dh.howard.edu/ooh_wbo/5

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Oliver Otis Howard Collection at Digital Howard @ Howard University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Writings By Others by an authorized administrator of Digital Howard @ Howard University. For more information, please contact lopez.matthews@howard.edu.

importation of any foreign-made product to this country works detrimentally against our industry, especially when we take into consideration that the earnings of American workers, the profits of American industry and business, as well as the taxes derived therefrom are responsible for the success of this Nation. Certainly, these factors should receive primary consideration before any attempt is made to place foreign-made products, which are produced under cheap labor conditions, on our markets in unfair competition against American-made goods simply for the purpose of catering to the will of special interests whose primary goal is huge profits.

The devastating effect which importation of residual oil from foreign nations has had on the American coal industry, and the huge problems of unemployment which have been created as a result, should be convincing evidence to your office that there should be no toleration of importing foreign-made products for highway purposes, because the end result will bring about further grave problems of unemployment. It is, therefore, my sincere hope that you will cooperate to the fullest extent to abolish such practices which are now in effect and that you will take whatever steps are necessary to wipe out the possibility of further ventures of this character.

Aid to the Suffering People of Chile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 9, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of the great tragedies of recent years is the havoc created in Chile by the series of earthquakes, seismic waves, floods, and rains which caused untold damage there in the last few weeks. Thousands of people have been killed, many more thousands are wounded, while hundreds of thousands are homeless.

Throughout our history the people of the United States have always responded generously to help stricken nations with food, clothing, shelter, medical supplies, and the like. This is being done now, too, chiefly by the Red Cross and others. From reports reaching us from Chile, I believe that we are not fully aware of the extent of the tragedy and the size of the damage done, both to people and property. I am afraid that what we are doing under the present circumstances is far from enough and will reach only a limited number of people.

We are in the fortunate position of being blessed with surpluses in various agricultural commodities, such as wheat, corn, rice, edible beans, certain dairy products, also cotton which could be used for clothing and other purposes. We have available feedstuffs for animals and building materials for the construction of new homes. All of this may mean the difference between life and death for the people of Chile.

Mr. Speaker, I am addressing a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to instruct the Secretary of Agriculture to make available some of our agricultural

surpluses to the people of Chile, who are not only our good neighbor but good friends and allies of the people of the United States. Let us share our blessings with them in this very tragic hour they are experiencing and show them that we have not forgotten them. Large-scale aid to the people of Chile now will also serve as a manifestation of our generosity to other peoples all over the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD an editorial appearing in today's issue of the Washington Daily News, June 9, 1960, dealing with the same subject:

NEEDED: "OPERACION AMIGOS"

The convulsive temblors that racked Chile with death and destruction left perhaps 200,000 persons homeless and defenseless against the cruel winter season just beginning.

America's response to this disaster was, as always, generous and warm-hearted. But as fine as has been our effort to help these stricken people, it has been inadequate to cope with the appalling havoc created by nature gone wild.

Individuals can, of course, continue to help through local Red Cross chapters and organized religious charities. But the need in Chile is of such overpowering proportions that it is doubtful individual help alone can turn the trick. Instead, what is needed here is a major effort on the part of our Government—a major effort to rebuild shattered lives and, let's not kid ourselves, to refresh Uncle Sam's somewhat tattered image in the minds of the world's needy people.

Our warehouses are bulging with commodities and building materials that can mean the difference between life and death to countless men, women, and children in Chile. The Government should at once organize a humanitarian D-day—an "Operacion Amigos," if you will—to get, by ships or planes, these supplies in the hands of the homeless people of Chile before winter extracts its toll of suffering and death.

Whatever it costs this Government, this mission of mercy is going to be a bargain. It cannot help but create a needed reservoir of goodwill toward our country throughout Latin America. It will give the lie to Communist slurs about the callous materialism of our society. It will reaffirm in the eyes of the world the fact that good neighbors come to each other's help in time of crisis.

But time is of the essence if "Operacion Amigos" is to do the job. It must be undertaken at once, and with the skill and generosity that is the true hallmark of the United States.

Editor Alfred Stedman pointed out that enactment of my national milk sanitation legislation would free interstate milk from such absurd legal entanglements by establishing a Federal quality standard for fluid milk shipped in interstate trade. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include Mr. Stedman's editorial in the RECORD:

NEW MILK LAW TANGLE

In New York, the weirdest of city-State conflicts has produced a new reason why Congress is so strongly impelled to set dairying free from the maze of contradictory State and local sanitary regulations that are hamstringing interstate commerce in milk. Establishing uniform Federal sanitary regulations for milk, as already is being done for meat and poultry, would do the job.

The New York State Legislature passed and Governor Rockefeller signed an act prohibiting State or local health agencies from requiring the dating of milk. Such requirements mean that each bottle or carton must be stamped with the date of pasteurization.

No doubt at one time justified on health grounds, this requirement now has been made obsolete and senseless by modern methods of sanitation and distribution. These methods enable milk to retain its high quality, flavor and freshness for far longer periods than formerly was the case. They make dating a needless expense to the farmers and consumers, who profit from or pay for milk and cream that are consumed by the public.

But of course the requirement does create a certain number of jobs in dating and handling and hauling outdated milk. And, in the eyes of New York City Council, these advantages were deemed to outweigh all the glaring disadvantages of dating. So the council by a vote of 20 to 1 has reenacted or voted to reenact the dating requirement which was specifically outlawed by the legislature of the State of New York.

The absurd legal tangle that results seems to cry aloud for enactment by Congress of the Lester Johnson bill whose uniform Federal sanitary code on interstate milk shipments would sweep aside all such conflicting and contradictory local regulations. Representative JOHNSON, Senator HUMPHREY, and other members of both political parties who are supporting the bill could properly call this situation to the attention of Congress as a conclusive argument in behalf of their measure.

When New York City tries to repeal New York State milk law it seems high time for the Federal Government to step in with national requirements for free trade in wholesome dairy products.

City Tries To Repeal State Milk Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the attempt of New York City to repeal a New York State milk law is just another example of the weird maze of conflicting sanitary standards which hamper the free flow of high-quality milk from State to State. Writing in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, Associate

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Griffith Park Observatory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Griffith Park Observatory and Planetarium, which is located in the congressional district I represent, recently observed its 25th anniversary.

Situated in Griffith Park, high above surrounding areas of Los Angeles and nearby cities, the observatory has over the years become the center of attrac-

tion to millions of local residents and visitors.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the *RECORD* the following editorial that appeared in the May 20, 1960, Los Angeles Times which pays well deserved tribute to the observatory and its staff:

GRIFFITH OBSERVATORY'S SILVER ANNIVERSARY

Twenty-five years ago this month the Griffith Park Observatory and Planetarium was opened to the public. Since then 13,750,000 persons, including residents of this city and visitors from throughout the world, have seen the fascinating exhibits in the Hall of Science and 4.25 million adults and children have attended the popular shows in the planetarium theater.

A quarter century is an almost unnoticeable period in the infinite history of the universe but it is a fair span in the life of man. In that time our knowledge of astronomy has increased to a remarkable degree, and much understanding of a complex science has been passed on to the general public by the talented staff of the Griffith Observatory.

Among the most popular features of the planetarium are its "trips" to various solar bodies. This summer, in commemoration of its anniversary, the planetarium will present the interesting and realistically illustrated trips to the Moon and Mars. More than 17,500 of these informative shows have been put on since 1935.

The work of the Griffith Observatory staff has entertained and instructed millions over the years, and undoubtedly it has also been responsible for planting the first seeds of wonder in many of tomorrow's young astronomers and space technicians. We add our congratulations to the observatory for its work of a quarter century in bringing the stars closer to man and, perhaps, man a little closer to the stars.

The Story of Chief Joseph: From Where the Sun Now Stands—Part VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the *RECORD*, I am presenting the final article of the story of Chief Joseph, leader of the famous Nez Perce Indian Tribe and one of America's most distinguished Indian leaders.

This excellent article was authored by Mr. Bruce A. Wilson, editor of the *Omak* (Wash.) Chronicle newspaper, and it has received wide acclaim. Mr. Wilson depicted the last year of struggle of the mighty Nez Perces during which they were forced to give up their carefree living in Oregon and, after bitter armed conflict with American troops, settle on a reservation.

Mr. Wilson did a fine job, I believe, in describing Chief Joseph when he stated that Joseph was not a ruthless savage; a Red Napoleon, as he was often called. Rather, he was more comparable to Lincoln—a man of peace, gravely concerned with the welfare of his people.

The concluding article follows:

The Nez Perces who surrendered with Joseph were taken by horseback and Missouri River flatboats to Fort Leavenworth where they spent the winter in a squalid camp so suffused with malaria that more than half became sick and 20 or 30 died. Gradually it dawned on those still able to think about anything except surviving that the field army's promise to return them to Lapwai was not worth the buffalo chips needed to roast a chestnut.

Howard was now arguing that a lot of white settlers would boil up their own version of justice if the nontreaty Nez Perces reappeared in Idaho, where a dozen of them were still under indictment for murder. Besides, he said, even if he had promised a return to Lapwai, the hostiles had violated the surrender terms by permitting so many to escape to Canada. (In the Nez Perce mind, of course, Joseph ultimately had surrendered only himself and everyone else could do what he wished.) Miles said the army ought to keep its word.

But General of the Army Sherman refused to consider sending the prisoners west, though he admitted: "The Indians throughout (the war) displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise; they abstained from scalping; let captive women go free; did not commit indiscriminate murders of peaceful families; and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance and rear guards, skirmish lines and field fortifications."

This fraternal slap on the back afforded thin comfort to the emaciated Nez Perces when in July, 1878, the army released them to the Indian bureau. This agency felt the early atrocities in Idaho made a return impossible. For the next 7 years the Nez Perces, far from the wild, fresh mountain air, were situated in Indian territory (for the most part in present-day Oklahoma). There they were allocated a dismal diet of tepid drinking water, poor rations, searing heat, soaking rains, cold winds and virtually no medical supplies. More than a hundred of them died.

Meanwhile many of the tribesmen who had fled to Canada now were drifting back to Idaho where all the whites seemed too busy farming, mining, and logging to concern themselves with revenge.

During all this time Joseph was fulfilling the role of a leader whose stature increases with the despondency and helplessness of his people. Early in the period of exile he traveled to Washington, D.C. Dignitaries gawked but saw no solution. In the early 1880's, however, the rather lonesome campaign Miles (now a general) and Howard's aid, Wood (now a Portland, Oreg., attorney), had launched on behalf of the Nez Perces spread into a persistent philanthropic movement with the Indian Rights Association and Presbyterian Church, among others, demanding action. Soon citizens' groups from Kansas to Connecticut were up in arms. Following an outburst of responsive leadership by Congress, the Indian Commissioner in April 1885 ordered the Nez Perces returned to the Northwest.

A month later 268 Nez Perces, survivors of nearly 500 who had surrendered with Joseph or were later delivered to Indian Territory, left Arkansas City by train with 35,000 pounds of baggage. At Pocatello, Idaho, there came another parting—118 continued to the Nez Perces Reservation at Lapwai while 150 were sent to the Colville Reservation Agency, then located at Spokane Falls. The Indian Bureau, still fearing reprisals, insisted that Joseph, many leading warriors, and others who might be accused of atrocities in Idaho be delivered to the Colville Reservation.

Religion may also have entered the picture. Yellow Wolf said an interpreter asked each of the exiles: "Where you want to go?

Lapwai and be Christian, or Colville and just be yourself?"

The refugees who chose or were assigned Lapwai received a warm welcome from others of their blood. Soon some were well on their way toward becoming self-sufficient farmers. Those who followed Joseph to Fort Spokane were greeted by a blast from the Colville agent: the Nez Perces had become used to Oklahoma, "sickly sentimentality" forced their return, insufficient funds were available to feed them, etc. After 6 months of this the weary Nez Perces, at their own request, were transferred to Nespelem; and one day in December 1885 about 120, of whom all except the younger children had heard the shots echoing through White Bird Canyon, awakened in stark terror at Big Hole, shivered from cold and fear at Bear Paw, crossed into Okanogan County to live their remaining years.

The Colville Reservation, sprawling through north central Washington from the Columbia River to Canada, had been created in 1872 for local tribes, including the Nespelems, Okanogans, Methows, and San Poils, and for any other bands the Commissioner of Indian Affairs might wish to place there.

Arriving at the subagency at Nespelem, the Nez Perces easily detected a certain amount of resentment on the part of some of the resident Indians. It is entirely probable the feeling was mutual, for the Nez Perces no more wished to be there than the native tribes wish to see them coming.

Chief Moses, another outstanding figure in Northwest Indian history, became friendly with Joseph and did much to ease friction between the two groups. But for some years the Nez Perces kept pretty well to themselves, pitching their tepees along several miles of Nespelem Creek, southeast of the subagency, and riding alone on fall deer hunts into the San Poil country.

Joseph and many others from his band were heartsick because they had not been returned to the Wallawas, whose ownership they had never relinquished. But as an alternative, they could hardly have been assigned better country than the Colville Reservation. Here were the same sweeping forests of ponderosa pine, Douglas-fir and lodgepole, with ample pasture and at least a scattering of lakes. "On the Colville we found wild game aplenty," Yellow Wolf said. "Fish, berries, and all kinds of roots * * *. Deer everywhere, and good salmon at Keller. It was better than Idaho, where all Christian Nez Perces and whites were against us."

But the more spectacular beauty of the Wallawas was missing, and the winters seemed colder. Here the Nez Perces found no sheltered Imnaha, virtually without snow at an elevation of only a few hundred feet. Most of all, the Wallawas had been theirs. This land was not.

In 1892 a 13-year-old white boy from Portland, Oreg., spent 6 months living in Joseph's tepee. He was Erskine Wood, son of the lieutenant who had written down Joseph's surrender speech and later urged returning the Nez Perces to the Northwest. Now, 15 years after the war which had torn apart his life, Joseph welcomed the son of one of his former enemies. Erskine spent 3 more months with Joseph the following year. Today a 90-year-old Portland attorney, he supplied much of the following material during a recent interview.

In the early 1890's, Nespelem consisted of a flour mill, sawmill, a corral for slaughtering beef, a Government warehouse, and a single residence for two white Government employees. To the warehouse rode the Nez Perces, once a month, to be issued rations, salt, sugar, bacon, flour, coffee, hard-bread, beef, and the like, to supplement the food they provided for themselves * * * wild roots (camas, chawweet, kows, bitterroot, all of

them boiled); wild berries; venison, duck, pheasants, and grouse when available; trout, and salmon. Occasionally clothing was issued. These supplies were packed to the tepees, made of twill cloth, unbroken by decorations.

"In the center was a bare earth for a fire," Wood recalled. "Around the circumference were stacked rawhide iktas bags, used for storing things and as suitcases when traveling. These bags also helped keep out the wind. Food and cooking utensils were piled near the entrance. Between the supplies and fire, we slept like spokes in a wheel, each on wild ryegrass covered by older blankets with better blankets on top. The tepees were warm and comfortable though sometimes smoky when you stood up. Nearby, in some cases, thatched ryegrass roofs had been mounted on upright posts to provide shade in the heat of summer. After the fall deer hunt, winter camp was set up closer to Nespelem where the rations were issued. Several families would live together during the winter, with four or five tepees combined into a single long one. Fires would be spaced through its length. The same arrangement was used during the fall deer hunt. Then a frame of willows was built above each fire. From the frames hung strips of freshly killed venison, curing in the smoke.

With Joseph lived his two wives and a lad about Erskine's age named Cool-Cool-Smool-Mool. Apparently he was an orphan. Joseph left no descendants. A daughter born a few days before the battle at White Bird Canyon died 5 years later in Indian territory. During Erskine's first visit, Looking Down and his wife also shared Joseph's tepee. Looking Down had been shot in an ankle during the war. But the wound never healed, and drained continually through an ever-present bandage.

"Joseph was well built, slightly heavy set, maybe a little overweight, dignified as a Roman senator, with a forelock and two long braids of black hair. Usually he wore a dark blue flannel shirt, breechcloth, blanket leggings and buckskin moccasins. He never talked to me about the war or the Wallawas (I was only a boy). But he often sat staring into space. I am sure he was thinking of the Wallawas, where his father and mother were buried. Joseph's leadership was never questioned. Many of the band consulted him. When a need for decisions arose, such as how to divide a venison, all others stood back while Joseph cut into the deer."

The young Erskine spent much of his time trapping muskrats, shooting ducks and pheasants, and riding with Cool-Cool-Smool-Mool. One of his chores was to locate Joseph's 40 or 50 horses in the hills and bring them down to a water hole in Nespelem Creek. There thick willows formed a natural corral, making it easy to lasso fresh ponies before turning back the used ones.

Whatever Sundays meant to Joseph, they were usually the occasion for a special breakfast followed by horseraces. Perhaps half a dozen other Nez Perce leaders would come to Joseph's tepee for breakfast. One might be Two Moons: would you guess this aging visitor had led the howling attack that crumpled Perry's left flank in White Bird Canyon, or helped steal Howard's pack mules from under the general's nose at Camas Prairie? Often Yellow Wolfe came, slowly moving, in a white man's flannel shirt and pants: had he fought like a painted demon along the Clearwater Bluffs, and crushed troopers' skulls with his warclub at the Big Hole? Even had Erskine been old enough to know these things, he could hardly have believed them as he joined these time-creased elders for frying pan bread cooked in grease, boiled meat, stewed huckleberries, coffee and sugar.

Breakfast was followed by a slow, cheerful ride to the racing flats (probably today's encampment site) where older boys, stripped to their breechcloths, raced ponies out and back again while the spectators shouted and wagered blankets. The afternoon sun settling behind the Cascades, everyone mounted again and in the finest of spirits swept at breakneck speed back to their tepees.

In the crisp air of late November, the Nez Perce men brought in their horses while squaws struck the tepees and packed supplies for fall hunting. The caravan headed northeast, the families about 75 yards apart to keep the horses from getting tangled. In the wooded hills of the San Poil country, tepees were pitched winter-style while the men and boys set out to stalk deer across slopes and through ravines.

"During summer," Wood recalled, "we took sweat baths about once a week. They were no ordeal because the outside air was warm. But deer hunting meant a sweat bath the first thing every morning, before it was light, to remove scent from our bodies. The sweathouse consisted of saplings stuck in the ground and bent over to form a circular hut about 4 feet high. The saplings were covered with blankets. Another blanket hung over the entrance. Inside the hut, a hole was dug and filled with rocks heated by a fire. Then five or six of us, naked, crawled inside. One would dribble warm water from a tin can onto the rocks (cold water might break them). This produced great clouds of steam. Sweat poured from our bodies. Everyone crouched low with his nose close to the ground to breathe. I didn't know this at first, kept my head high and almost choked to death. After 10 or 15 minutes, we walked from the sweathouse to a creek and plunged in, sometimes having to break through a layer of ice. The shock was petrifying. But our bodies were thoroughly cleansed."

Apparently neither Joseph nor any of his band, in those early days at Nespelem, ever crossed west of the Okanogan River, where Ruby and Conconully were booming and the Cascadian foothills rang with the shouts of miners. By 1890 30 Nez Perce families were farming 200 acres and horse herds were thriving.

But adjustment came slowly. For too long the Nez Perces had been wards of the Government, standing in line to receive most of their sustenance. Their initiative drained away. As many died among Joseph's people as were born. An 1890 census turned up only 32 males over 18 years of age. Only four could read English; nine could speak it. A few wooden houses were built (in the \$62 class, according to the agent's cost records). One was assigned to Joseph. He preferred his tepee.

In 1900 Joseph traveled by train to the East. He was at once a 60-year-old incongruity wearing a suit of black broadcloth, pitifully out of place in crowded hotel lobbies, and a splendid Indian specimen as he rode with his full war bonnet and other native accoutrement in a New York parade to dedicate Grant's tomb. Joseph talked about returning to the Wallawas with President McKinley and with General Miles, one of the few whites whose word he trusted. (Four years earlier the north half of the Colville Reservation had been opened to settlement, and whites again were hemming in the Nez Perces.)

Following his return to Nespelem, Joseph and James McLaughlin, an Indian Bureau inspector, visited the Wallawas to see if land could be purchased. For the first time in 23 years Joseph rode through the land of Winding Water. A thousand memories must have washed through his mind. But the Wallowa River as it left the lake was now an irrigation channel. Land was expensive.

"There are 1,107 votes (in the district)," a report warned. There could be no return.

In 1903 Joseph again traveled east, probably back for lack of anything better to do. He was entertained lavishly by General and Mrs. Miles, and appeared briefly with John Cummins' Indian Congress and Life on the Plains exhibition at Madison Square garden. Returning, Joseph and a white-bearded General Howard were together a few hours at the Carlisle Indian school.

This was followed by a trip to Seattle where Prof. Edmond S. Meaney hoped a public appearance might drum up support for the better-forgotten Wallowa proposal. Covering the program at a downtown theater, a caustic Post-Intelligencer reporter, wrote:

"After a long drink of water, Joseph folded his hands over his stomach and with Henry Steele, a former Indian agent, as interpreter, said what sounded like, 'Um mum mum halo tum tum um mum,' interpreted as 'Today my heart is far away from here.' 'Um mum cumtux sicamoose tar ra ra,' meaning, 'I would like to be back in my old home in the Wallowa country.' 'Hi-yu mum um tum tum,' translated as, 'The white father promised me long ago that I could go back to my home, but the white men are big liars' (laughter). 'Kopet,' translated as, 'That's all,' and he sadly sat down."

It was no use.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1904

Joseph, greatest of the Nez Perce chiefs, his bronze skin wrinkled by 64 summers, his spirit weakened by a cancerous melancholy, steps slowly from his tepee along Nespelem Creek, feels the pain in his heart and a sickening fear which cannot be denied, sags heavily to the ground. Soon he is dead.

In his younger days, when Old Joseph solved all problems and the wild, free world of the Wallawas spread in every direction, this man must have been happy. With the chieftain's mantle came inescapable concerns and a deep-rooted dread of failing his station. From that instance on, his life was a struggle in which the welfare of the people entrusted to him was the only thing that mattered. He bore no hate for early settlers in the Wallowa Valley. He feared them, for he knew what they meant. He would bury his independence and surrender a treasured homeland to spare his people the blood-smearing stains of a war. Forced into flight, he would try to see that should the warriors win, their victory would have a meaning. Beaten, he never ceased hoping he might return his people to the mountains from which he had taken them. But near the end, his hope grew dim.

Now the struggle was ended. Joseph had won and had lost. Whatever a leader of intelligence and compassion could do, he had done. The future was for others. "From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever."

Why New Laws Are Needed To Curb Chain Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 9, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California, has laid bare a most disturbing march of events in the business life of our country. Too little attention

is paid, I think, to what is happening to small and independent business. It is tending to disappear; it is being squeezed out and being pushed to a minor, ineffectual competitive role in the business life of the Nation. JIMMY ROOSEVELT has, with hard work and rare insight, intensive and patient investigation brought to light the exact nature of the problems small firms in the distribution fields are up against. More than that, he has advanced some very stimulating and fairminded proposals for coping with these problems.

I believe that the Members will find both stimulating and extremely instructive JIMMY ROOSEVELT's expressions on a wide range of problems confronting small business today, as these appear in an exclusive interview with Larston D. Farrar, the noted writer and business analyst, and Washington correspondent for Food Merchandising. This interview, on the subject of the growing chainstore monopoly, appears in the May 1960 issue of Food Merchandising, a trade magazine which is read by tens of thousands of independent food retailers throughout the United States.

As matters now stand, the future of independent food retailing is anything but bright. A new survey of the food retailing industry recently made by the Federal Trade Commission shows that in the 10 years from 1948 to 1958, independent retailers' share of food store sales dropped from 58 to 25 percent. On the other side of the coin, corporate chains with 11 or more retail outlets increased their share of food store sales from 29 to 44 percent in the same period. These facts should dispel any notion that the prospect of a chain monopoly in food distribution is merely a remote and fanciful specter. The problems which are knocking on our doors today should concern every Member of Congress, every housewife—in fact, all citizens in all walks of life.

A word about Mr. Larston Farrar: In this interview he has again turned his noted talents to exposing and analyzing the half-hidden problems which affect the welfare of the whole Nation, as distinguished from problems raised by the ambitions and campaigns of some special interest group. Mr. Farrar is, of course, the author of many books, such as "Washington Lowdown," which have attracted national attention.

Needless to say, I am personally very proud of the fact that JIMMY ROOSEVELT is a Member of our Select Committee on Small Business. For almost 10 years now he has been chairman of the subcommittee dealing with small-business problems in the distribution fields, and I doubt if there is anyone in the country who can match his knowledge and expertness in this field.

The interview from Food Merchandising is as follows:

OUTLAW CHAIN MONOPOLY?

(Representative ROOSEVELT leads the Government fight to limit power of the chains. In this exclusive interview, ROOSEVELT answers such vital questions as: Why are new laws needed to curb chain monopoly? What are these new controls that should be put into law? How do we know these won't smother free competition instead of helping it?)

(By Larston D. Farrar)

JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, eldest son of Franklin D. Roosevelt, has served as Representative of California's 26th District since elected in 1954. He was former chairman of the California Democratic Central Committee and was Democratic national committeeman. A Marine Corps veteran, he now heads Subcommittee No. 5 of the House Small Business Committee and has been conducting an investigation of the food field. His new bills would regulate competition through increased U.S. control of the industry.

Larston D. Farrar, Washington correspondent for Food Merchandising, is one of the most noted writers on the Capitol scene. He has been called "1 of the 10 best-informed men on economic and national affairs in the country." His "Washington Lowdown" was a fast-selling pocket edition and his latest book is "Successful Writers and How They Work." His interviews and feature articles have appeared in leading magazines. Mr. Farrar's interview with Representative ROOSEVELT follows:

"LARSTON D. FARRAR. Mr. ROOSEVELT, our readers are aware of your energetic investigation of food distribution practices. We hope, through this interview, to gain a better understanding of your work.

"Representatives JAMES ROOSEVELT. I'm delighted with this interview because the more we all know about our problems, the better we can agree on solutions. One thing is certain: Sound action comes from sound thinking which is based on adequate and reliable information. I congratulate Food Merchandising for probing into this. I feel you are fulfilling the true function of a magazine serving a tremendously important industry faced with a multitude of problems.

"Question. To lead off, what specific legislation have you introduced to thwart the forces of monopoly you feel are at work?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. There are three main bills which affect the food industry. First, H.R. 9896 would give the Attorney General and the FTC the chance to review, in advance, any mergers of firms with capital, surplus, and undivided profits exceeding \$10 million. Its purpose, of course, is to prevent mergers which might lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly.

"Second, there is H.R. 9898 which is aimed at 'vertical integration.' If enacted the FTC could prevent a company in the retailing business from going into the manufacturing or processing business if this activity would tend to create monopoly or affect competition adversely.

"The third bill, H.R. 11315, would prevent any packer or any wholesale firm marketing meat, dairy goods, or poultry products, with gross annual sales of \$10 million or more, from selling these products at retail. This would eliminate the retail chain from getting into the business of meatpacking and would also keep packers from getting into the retail business—if the firm's sales are \$10 million a year or more.

"Question. What findings have you made that justify these controls?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. The 10 largest chains account for almost 30 percent of U.S. grocery sales. The three largest chains account for approximately 47 percent of total chain sales.

"There is considerable evidence that most large chains have integrated vertically until they now are in business at every stage, from the farm to the home. These chains handle a piece of meat from the time the calf is born until the steak is eaten at home—eliminating independent marketmen, brokers and processors at every step. As a result, independent business operators at all levels of the industry have been disappearing at a rapid and alarming rate, with the resulting threat to free competition. In time, this is bound to be disastrous to the ultimate consumer.

"Let's not make any mistake about it, if the time comes when a few men, in effect, can set prices on all groceries, they will not hesitate to do so. There is more than one way to come to a collusive agreement—a knowing wink, reference to the same 'suggestions' in bulletins, and so forth.

"Question. What specific actions have you uncovered that would be corrected by your new legislation?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. There are ample findings to justify not only these bills but even more stringent legislation. My subcommittee's evidence shows that there has been buyer-seller collusion; that there is no shelf space available in many chainstores for independent manufacturers but plenty of room for private brands; that there is preferential pricing for favored buyers; that there are many sales below cost on specific items; and that there are many other practices to fully show the need for this legislation. The small independent retailer doesn't need a congressional committee to tell him what he can see with his own eyes and what he feels in his own profits.

"Question. In your proposal to divorce retailing from manufacturing, what would you do about the small retail baker who makes all, or most, of his products in his own store? What about the independent retailer who makes some specialty item in his backroom kitchen?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. The answer is fairly simple. No one in his right mind would confuse a small retail baker or grocer with huge companies doing tens of millions of dollars worth of business each year. The small businessman who isn't aiming at monopoly has no reason for fear. There is a tendency on the part of big business to throw up smoke screens and to strive to show that the legislation would affect the small businessman. The only way this would affect him would be that it gives him a chance to compete and stay in business against the tremendous power of the big businessman.

"Question. What would prevent chains from setting up wholly-owned subsidiaries for manufacturing purposes? In a family-owned chain, what would prevent the members of the family from making a substantial investment in (and thus control to some extent) a food manufacturer?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. Of course, any person can violate a law. But any such subterfuge as you have outlined would be classified as such by the courts. Nothing in a law automatically guarantees that it will be obeyed; but just because individuals try to get around a law, this does not mean they will get away with it. Still, people will probably try it.

"Question. What about chains which already own packing plants? Would they have to get rid of them?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. Yes, if they did an annual gross business of \$10 million or more. Otherwise, the law would not apply to them.

"Question. What about packing plants which sell such a large portion of their production to one chain that they must depend on that chain? Isn't that the same thing as control?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The answer is the same; such control would be allowed if the business had not grown to the point of having \$10 million gross sales or more in a year.

"Question. You want to require notification of impending mergers. Would this also apply to small chains and individuals who may have a chance to buy another store nearby?

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. The small chain or individual would have no difficulty in buying another store unless he or the other party were large enough to have capital, surplus and undivided profits totaling more than \$10 million.

"Question. Let's pursue this further. Suppose a small firm is doing badly, has exhausted its money source and the owner decides he must merge with the competition.